

unreconstructed liberal notion of endless racial reparations and race-based preferences is doubly guilty: wrong in principle and ruinous in practice. President Clinton's much-vaunted affirmative action review produced more of a bumper sticker than a policy; Clinton's focus-group-fashioned "mend it, not end it" slogan makes a far better rhyme than reason.

The same, however, is true of the new affirmative action "abolitionist" position, which heralds equality but seldom addresses the way to truly give all people an equal footing. Critics are right in asserting that "affirmative action" quotas have contributed to the poisoning of race relations in this country. But critics must offer much more than just opposition and reproach. We know what they are against, but what are they for?

"A colorblind society," comes their response. Of course, the goal of equal opportunity is paramount and a worthy destiny to seek. But to say that we have arrived at that goal is simply not true. My friends on the right call for a colorblind society and then quote Martin Luther King's inspirational "I have a dream" speech, in which he imagined a nation in which every American would be judged not on the color of his or her skin but on the "content of his character." All too often, though, they neglect to quote the end of his speech, where he describes the painful plight of minority America: "The Negro," King said, "lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity."

Much has changed in the 30 years since King stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Minority enterprises have begun to gain a foothold, although there are far too few of them. But can anyone venture to the crumbling brick and mortar of Cabrini Green Public Housing, or the fear-ridden projects of Bed-Stuy or the streets lined with the unemployed in South Central LA or East St. Louis and believe that what he sees there today would pass as progress since Dr. King's day?

This is not to negate the gains made by so many in the black and minority communities. But for large numbers the situation has not only not improved in 30 years, it has grown dramatically worse—with a welfare system that entraps rather than empowers, punishes work and marriage and prevents access to capital, credit and property.

Reality requires that we admit two things—difficult admissions for both liberals and conservatives. First, that a race-conscious policy of quotas and rigid preferences has helped make matters worse. Second, and more important, the Good Shepherd reminds all of us that our work is not done, and as we think about moving into the 21st century, we must not leave anyone behind.

Sound policy begins with strong principles. Affirmative action based on quotas is wrong—wrong because it is antithetical to the genius of the American idea: individual liberty. Counting by race in order to remedy past wrongs or rewarding special groups by taking from others perpetuates and even deepens the divisions between us. But race-based politics is even more wrong and must be repudiated by men and women of civility and compassion.

Instead, like the "radical Republicans" of Lincoln's day, who overrode President Johnson's veto on the Freedman's Bureau, we would honor the past by creating a future more in keeping with our revolutionary founding ideals of equality. In this way, the eventual ending of affirmative action is only a beginning—the political predicate of a new promise of outreach in the name of greater opportunity for access to capital, credit, prosperity, jobs and educational choice for all.

The time has definitely come for a new approach on an "affirmative action" based not just on gender or race or ethnicity but ultimately based on need. "Affirmative" because government authority must be employed to remove the obstacles to upward mobility and human advancement. "Action" because democratic societies must act positively and create real equality of opportunity—without promising equality of reward.

Affirmative opportunity in America begins with education. America's schools, particularly our urban public schools, are depriving minority and low-income children of the education that may be their passport out of poverty. Even the poorest parent must have the option more affluent families enjoy; the right to send their children to the school of their choice. Affirmative effort means ending the educational monopoly that makes poor public school students into pawns of the educational bureaucracy. And we should be paving the way to a voucher and magnet school system of public and private school choice.

Opportunity means an entryway into the job market. That means removing barriers for job creation and entrepreneurship and expanding access to capital and credit. According to the Wall Street Journal, from 1982 to 1987, the number of black-owned firms increased by nearly 38 percent, about triple the overall business growth rate during that period. Hispanic-owned businesses soared by 57 percent, and their sales nearly tripled.

Even so, of the 14 million small businesses in existence across the United States today, fewer than 2 percent are black-owned. And of \$27 to \$28 trillion of capital in this country, less than one percent is in black ownership. Affirmative effort would take aim at expanding capital and credit as the lifeblood of business formation and job creation—including an aggressive effort to end the red-lining of our inner cities and a radical redesign of our tax code to remove barriers to broader ownership of capital, savings and credit.

Opportunity means the ability to accumulate property. Affirmative effort would mean an end to every federal program that penalizes the poor for managing to save and accumulate their own assets. An AFDC mother's thrift and foresight in putting money away for a child's future should not be penalized by the government welfare system as fraud as is currently the case.

Finally, real opportunity for racial and ethnic reconciliation requires an expanding economy—one that invites the effort and enterprise of all Americans, including minorities and women. A real pro-growth policy must include policies ranging from enterprise zones in our cities to a commitment to lowering barriers to global trade. It should also offer relief from red tape and regulation and freedom from punitive tax policies. Each is part of an affirmative action that can "move America forward without leaving anyone behind."

Now that we have opened a somewhat hysterical dialogue on affirmative action, we can never go back—only forward. Our challenge is to put aside the past—abandon the endless round of recrimination and a politics that feeds on division, exclusion, anger and envy. We must reaffirm, as Lincoln did at his moment of maximum crisis, a vision of the "better angels of our nature," a big-hearted view of the nation we were always meant to become and must become if we are to enter the 21st century as the model of liberal democracy and market-oriented capitalism the world needs to see. ●

MARYLAND ATHLETES VICTORIOUS AT OLYMPIC FESTIVAL

● Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I want to share with my colleagues my

pride in the accomplishments of Maryland's athletes in the recent Olympic Festival.

As my colleagues know, the Olympic Festival is one of the premiere events for Olympic-caliber athletes. Many of the more than 3,500 American athletes who participated in the festival will go on to compete in next year's summer Olympics in Atlanta and in the winter games in Nagano, Japan. They truly are America's finest.

I am proud to note that two dozen Maryland athletes were awarded gold medals. I salute them for their dedication to their sport and to the pursuit of excellence. I look forward to hearing of their future achievements.

The names of Maryland's gold medal winners follow:

MARYLAND'S GOLD MEDAL WINNERS

Peggy Boutillier of Baltimore, gold medal in field hockey.

Sonia Chase of Baltimore, gold medal in basketball.

John Criscione of Baltimore, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, c-2 team.

Dana Rucker of Baltimore, gold medal in boxing—middleweight.

Jennifer Hearn of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

William Hearn of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, c-1 team.

Steven Jennings of Bethesda, gold medal in field hockey.

Brian Parsons of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

Brent Wiesel of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

David Briles Jr. of Bowie, gold medal in soccer.

Clint Peay of Columbia, gold medal in soccer.

Zach Thornton of Edgewood, gold medal in soccer.

Carolyn Schwarz of Gaithersburg, gold medal in field hockey.

Kendra Cameron of Gambrills, gold medal in bowling—team.

Catherine Hearn of Garrett Park, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

Paul Dulebohn of Germantown, gold medal in figure skating—pairs.

Louis Bullock of Laurel, gold medal in basketball.

Tricia Burdt of Olney, gold medal in field hockey.

Joseph Criscione of Perry Hall, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, c-2 team.

Kira Orr of Poolesville, gold medal in basketball.

Julie I-Wei Lu of Potomac, gold medal in table tennis.

Todd Sweeris of Rockville, gold medal in table tennis, singles.

Anthony Wood of Rockville, gold medal in soccer.

Amy Jun Feng of Wheaton, gold medal in table tennis—doubles and singles. ●

RETIREMENT OF OFFICER WILLIAM DENNIS BAGIS

● Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, during my first 2½ years as a U.S. Senator, I have had the privilege of getting to know many of the Capitol Hill Police officers. They are an exceptional

group of men and women who enjoy what they do and are good at it.

At this time, I want to pay special tribute to Officer William Bagis who will retire from the Capitol Hill Police Force after 24 years of distinguished service.

Officer Bagis has served under six Presidents, from Nixon to Clinton, five Speakers, from Albert to GINGRICH; and five chiefs of police, from Powell to Abrecht. He has been a part of several firsts in the history of the Capitol: The first female officer hired by Capitol Police—1974; the first Presidential helicopter landing on the east front—Nixon, 1974; the first Presidential inauguration on the west front—Reagan, 1981; the first President to be sworn in in the rotunda—Reagan, 1985; the first time the Statue of Freedom was taken down in 130 years—1993.

He has served during the Vietnam demonstrations, Watergate, and the farmers' demonstration.

In my conversations with Officer Bagis, he has told me of his appreciation for the opportunity to have served Congress over these past 24 years.●

KEN HECHLER

● Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President: I rise today to salute a true Renaissance man, a great light in both national and West Virginia history: former Congressman Ken Hechler. Having recently celebrated the 50th anniversary of the World War II crossing of the Ludendorff Bridge at Remagen, Germany, it is fitting now to honor this combat historian and decorated officer who enshrined his memories of the victory in our hearts forever. However, heroism was not only his to behold and chronicle. Winning five battle stars and a Bronze Star in the European theater of the war, Ken Hechler is a hero of the West Virginia people.

A dedicated servant of the United States in time of war and peace, he left both a Princeton teaching career and his talented pen to serve under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman as researcher and speechwriter, then joined the Stevenson campaign. Serving in Congress from 1959 to 1977, Congressman Hechler was, in a short time, heralded for his integrity and noted by many as one of the most effective and insightful Members in the House. It should be noted that, although born in New York, in adopting West Virginia as his new native State, he demonstrated that he was very wise as well.

Ken Hechler gave voice to the voiceless among his West Virginia constituents. Fighting tirelessly for the rights of impoverished miners in the Appalachian coal fields, he decried the terrible conditions in the mines, calling them criminal. He struggled for mine safety legislation, unwilling to appease others unwilling to work toward change. After the Farmington and other mine disasters, arising from the tears of miners' widows, he helped

enact the Mine Safety and Health Act of 1969.

His criticism of the mining conditions did not end there, however, as he became a strong advocate of environmental protection, railing against rampant pollution in West Virginia and strengthening legislation to improve air quality in the Nation. He crusaded against strip mining, helped protect wilderness areas, and in perhaps his greatest achievement, saved West Virginia's New River, the oldest river in North America, from a proposed dam project.

With a profound sense of history, love of honor, and independence of thought, Congressman Hechler throughout his career inspired many with his character and endeavors. After leaving Congress, he resumed teaching at Marshall University, served twice as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, and began to write again. In 1984, he was elected secretary of state of West Virginia, a position he still holds today.

It is not often that we have the opportunity to laud such a great public figure as Ken Hechler. A consummate politician, he has been a consummate citizen as well. West Virginia is grateful to Dr. Hechler: he has kept hope in the hearts of the downtrodden and toiled for election reform for the public interest. The needs, financial and emotional, of his electorate were foremost in his social conscience. A true maverick, his life of selfless service is legend.

(At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD:)

ISSUANCE OF THE ALICE PAUL STAMP

● Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate the tremendous achievements of Alice Paul, a New Jerseyan, suffragist and dedicated believer in social justice. On August 18, 1995 the Alice Paul Centennial Foundation and the U.S. Postal Service will join together to celebrate a First Day of Issue Ceremony dedicating a new postal stamp that features Alice Paul.

Alice Stokes Paul, born in Mount Laurel, NJ in 1885, gave birth to the woman's rights movement, facilitating some of the most important political and legal achievements made by women in the 20th century. The date of August 26, 1995 marks the 75th anniversary of the passage of the 19th amendment, which granted women the right to vote. Accordingly, I am extremely pleased that it is at this time that the U.S. Postal Service has selected Alice Paul for their 78 cent stamp. Alice Paul's contributions to women's suffrage made possible the increased advancement and recognition of women in our society and throughout the world.

After graduating from Swarthmore College in 1905 as a social worker, Alice Paul studied in England for a doctoral

degree in economics. It was there that she became involved in the British women's suffrage movement led by the Parkhursts. Those 3 years in England showed Alice that women would have to adopt revolutionary methods that would take the vote, not wait passively for it to be given.

Upon her return to America, Alice Paul reenergized the battle to win the right to vote for American women. In 1916, she founded the National Woman's Party, which worked to gain suffrage at the Federal level through a constitutional amendment. Proving to be an extraordinary organizer, fund-raiser, and politician, Alice Paul allowed nothing into her life that did not have a direct bearing on suffrage. In her later years, Alice often reminisced that she lived in a cold room so that she wouldn't be tempted to read novels late at night.

Alice Paul fostered an incredible solidarity in those around her. She organized massive demonstrations, picketing rallies, conventions, and hunger strikes that raised the profile of the suffragist movement, revitalized other women's rights groups and awakened the consciousness of the entire Nation to the women's suffrage issue.

Once the vote was won, when most suffragists believed that their work had ended, Alice Paul was just beginning her crusade. In 1923, 3 years after suffrage was granted, she authored the equal rights amendment, stipulating that neither the Federal Government nor States could abridge any rights on the basis of sex. From the date of its inception to its final passage by Congress for State ratification in 1972, Alice Paul kept the issue of the ERA alive before the Congress and State legislatures for 54 years.

In addition to her efforts on behalf of the right to vote and the equal rights amendment, Alice Paul successfully campaigned to make the non-discrimination clause based on sex part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This clause granted women Federal protection for the first time in the realm of equal job protection and pay in the workplace. Furthermore, she worked to include equal rights clauses in the United Nations Charter and the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights.

In 1977, Alice Paul died in Moorestown, NJ, leaving behind a legacy of dedication to women's rights and social justice. To the very end, she worked with the fervent desire to see the equal rights amendment become Federal law. Even at the age of 88, she was directing the struggle for the passage of the ERA in the Maine Legislature—from the telephone of a nursing home. Her life exemplified what she once said in response to a question about her unwavering steadiness in the cause of women's rights: "Well, I always thought once you put your hand on the plough you don't remove it until you get to the end of the row."

In the case of Alice Paul, this simple resolve left a legacy that has forever